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628 women over their slain relatives that kept the feud alive, the men of the two parties being willing to make friends much more readily than the women.

An example of a long-continued feud, which, to all appearance, has been in existence for several centuries, is that between the *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman. The *Jarawa* have the advantage over the *Aka-Bea* that their camps are situated in the dense forest and are difficult to find, while the camps of the *Aka-Bea* are mostly along the sea-coast. At the present day the *Jarawa* take some precautions against being surprised in their camp by a hostile party. The camp is often placed on the top of a hill and the trees in the neighbourhood are cut down so that they have a good view. The paths leading to the camp are also cleared and made wider than is usual in a native path. At times it would seem that they keep sentries on the look-out.

The *Aka-Bea* and the *Jarawa* were inveterate enemies. Whenever two parties of them met by any chance, or came in the neighbourhood of one another, the larger party would attack the other. When the Settlement of Port Blair was established, friendly relations were set up with the *Aka-Bea*, and since that time the hostility of the *Jarawa* has been directed not only against the friendly Andamanese (*Aka-Bea*, etc.) but also against the inhabitants of the Settlement¹.

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721 Such a thing as fighting on a large scale seems to have been unknown amongst the Andamanese. In the early days of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, the natives of the South Andaman

¹ In the years 1872 to 1902 inclusive the *Jarawa* made eight attacks on camps of the friendly Andamanese in different places, in which two of the friendly Andamanese men and one girl were killed and three men and one boy were wounded. There were also one or two casual meetings between *Jarawa* and friendly Andamanese. One of the friendlies was surprised and killed while turtle hunting in 1894. During the same years the *Jarawa* made on different occasions about twenty attacks on parties of convicts or on separate individuals, killing altogether 27 convicts and two police constables, and wounding six other convicts. In these skirmishes and in the expeditions to which they gave rise three *Jarawa* were killed and seven wounded on various occasions, and several times *Jarawa* men, women or children were captured and afterwards released. A number of convicts have at different times run away from the Settlement and as some of those were never after heard of they may be supposed to have been killed by the *Jarawa*. For an official record of dealings with the *Jarawa* see the "Census Report" 1901, pp. 68-90.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

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combined in large numbers to make an attack on the Settlement, but this seems to have been an unusual course of action in order to meet what was to them an altogether unusual contingency, their territory having been invaded by a large force of foreigners. Their only fights amongst themselves seem to have been the brief and far from bloody skirmishes described above, where only a handful of warriors were engaged on each side and rarely more than one or two were killed. Of such a thing as a war in which the whole of one tribe joined to fight with another tribe I could not find any evidence in what the natives were able to tell me of their former customs.

As showing within what narrow limits the different local groups held communication with one another, it may be mentioned that till the year 1875 the *Aka-Bea* natives of Port Blair did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kol* tribe, less than fifty miles distant, nor of any of the tribes further north. As a general rule it may be said that no man knew anything of any of the natives living more than twenty miles from his own part of the country.

177 steamer to the more distant encampments by the officer in charge of the Homes¹ accompanied by males and females of the Southern tribes.² On these occasions dogs, iron, beads, and various other articles highly prized by the aborigines have been deposited in the huts from which the occupants had fled, or presented to such individuals as had courage to approach; stringent measures were at the same time taken to check the almost irresistible propensity of the *(bō-jig-ngi-ji)* to appropriate all portable property in the temporarily vacated camping grounds.

177 In these trips Little Andaman has been also visited, but all
721 our efforts to conciliate the *jār-awa-* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless. This may in part be due to the summary punishment³ we have been compelled on two occasions to inflict for cruel murders perpetrated on inoffensive mariners; but it may also be attributable to the exclusiveness and hostility which appear as tribal peculiarities,⁴ and which are directed alike against their fellow savages and ourselves, as has been demonstrated by the terror with which they have in recent years inspired the South Andamanese, and in bygone years the Car-Nicobarese,⁴ on whom they were formerly in the habit of making raids for purposes of plunder. For a long time now, however, they have desisted from these predatory expeditions, and have confined themselves to the islands and localities which are regarded as their territory; but still, cases have occurred from time to time which keep alive the unpleasant conviction that any unfortunates who might be wrecked, or should venture to land on their coasts without sufficient means of self-defence, would be as mercilessly massacred now as at any date in their history.

177 The various measures already detailed as having been taken in order to benefit the aborigines have convinced all who have come within their influence of our friendly intentions; even the distant communities of Great Andaman are now becoming as well known and as favourably disposed towards us as are our

¹ An account of one of these visits will be found in the form of a private letter which was published in "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. vii.

² Experience has taught us that one of the most effective means of inspiring confidence when endeavouring to make acquaintance with these savages, is to show that we are accompanied by women, as they at once infer that whatever may be our intentions, they are at least not hostile.

³ A further possible cause of the continued disinclination of the *jār-awa-* to accept our advances is believed to be due to one or more runaway convicts, who may have succeeded in settling in their midst, and who in order to lessen their own chances of recapture and punishment, have given unfavourable accounts of us.

⁴ How the *jār-awa-* came to discover the distant low-lying island of Car-Nicobar is not known, but it is probably traceable to some trifling circumstance, such as the accidental drifting of a boat far out to sea.

⁵ Vide Part I, "Tribal Distribution," p. 39 and "Communications," p. 45.

APPENDIX B.

JARAWA RAIDS ON THE SETTLEMENT.

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1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.
 1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lekerajoinga by the Beas for stealing their canoe.]
 1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home: 1 man killed.
 1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.
 1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jarawas at Goplakabang, but friendly signs at Kalatang.
 1883. Five convicts killed at Ranguchang: 1 Jarawa woman captured.
 1884. A Police Constable wounded at Maillitilek: 1 Jarawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Birds'-nest boat attacked at Ranguchang: 4 Jarawa women, 1 man (Habiyo) captured and released. Jarawa huts found in the Jarawa Khari Valley.
 1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbarnij: 2 Jarawa women captured and released.
 1887. Andamanese camp at Chaul (N.-W. corner of South Andaman) attacked, 1 boy wounded.
 1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad and 1 killed at Mattra: 1 runaway killed: convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.
 1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked, 1 man wounded.
 1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked, 1 man wounded. One Jarawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Motkunu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jarawas killed at Talalunta.
 1891. One convict at Bindraban wounded.
 1892. Andamanese camp at Bajajag attacked: 1 girl killed.
 1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked: 1 man killed, 1 wounded.
 1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.
 1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jarawas captured and released.
 1896. One Jarawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese Camp at Goplakabang. Jarawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.
 1897. One convict killed at the Tarachang Home. Jarawa village found on Torabi Hill, Port Campbell: 3 Jarawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj killed.
 1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jirkatang: 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.
 1899. Jirkatang temporary convict barrack attacked: 2 convicts wounded: 1 Jarawa wounded: 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.
 1901. Three convicts killed: 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jatang.
 1902. Two convicts killed at Jatang: 1 Jarawa child captured at Talalunta and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wibtang. Mr. Vaux killed at Wibtang.

[123] painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would
[41] surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no

[123] water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

[312] We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material². On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1938 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, Pl. IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a coconut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive Government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. - The type of arrow they use is almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead. The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

² They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)



FOOD FROM THE SEA

type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet¹ has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more water-proof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

¹ The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.